

L246. c.1. 48

THE
Anti-Slavery Reporter

PUBLISHED UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE
BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Series 4.
Vol. XXII., No. 1.

JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1902.

Gratis to
Subscribers.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
THE NATIVE QUESTION IN SOUTH AFRICA: PARLY. PAPER (Cd. 904) ...	3
LORD MILNER TO MR. CHAMBERLAIN ...	7
FREED SLAVES IN PEMBA: LETTER FROM MR. HERBERT ARMITAGE ...	16
PARLIAMENTARY	21
SLAVERY IN EAST AFRICA: BY ALDERMAN J. DUCKWORTH, J.P.	21
THE UGANDA RAILWAY	26
SLAVERY IN GERMAN EAST AFRICA	28
MOROCCO	29
SOUDAN SLAVE-DEALERS	31
A SLAVE-SHIP SIXTY YEARS AGO	31
RESIGNATIONS	31
TITLE AND INDEX... ..	31

PUBLISHED AT THE OFFICES OF THE SOCIETY,
55, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON, E.C.

WATERLOW AND SONS LIMITED, PRINTERS, DUNSTABLE AND LONDON.

5
. . **British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.** . .

THE
ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

OF SUBSCRIBERS AND FRIENDS OF THE SOCIETY,

Will be held at its Offices, 55, NEW BROAD STREET, E.C.,

* ON FRIDAY, APRIL 4, 1902, AT 4.30 P.M.

CHAIRMAN: SIR T. FOWELL BUXTON, BART., G.C.M.G. (PRESIDENT).

The RT. REV. THE **BISHOP OF UGANDA** and other gentlemen are
expected to speak.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

JANUARY—FEBRUARY, 1902.

[The Editor, whilst grateful to all correspondents who may be kind enough to furnish him with information, desires to state that he is not responsible for the views stated by them, nor for quotations which may be inserted from other journals. The object of the REPORTER is to spread information, and articles are necessarily quoted which may contain views or statements for which their authors can alone be held responsible.]

The Native Question in South Africa.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPER.*

The very important papers on this question which were published as a Blue Book at the close of January include the full text of the four Proclamations issued by Lord Milner as Administrator of the Transvaal on the 10th December last giving the new regulations for natives of that colony. They include also several despatches from Lord Milner to Mr. Chamberlain—the longest and most important being that dated December 6th, in which the Administrator sets forth the policy which he is adopting on the native question generally, with especial reference to the representations made to the Colonial Office by the Anti-Slavery Society and the Aborigines Protection Society—and a noteworthy memorandum by Sir Godfrey Lagden, Commissioner for Native Affairs.

The four Proclamations respectively relate to Native Pass Laws, and Labour Contracts ; to the regulation of Labour Agents and Compound Overseers ; to the exemption of certain coloured persons from the Pass Laws ; and to the prohibition of liquor.

There are clear and important indications in the despatches of Lord Milner and Sir Godfrey Lagden of the general spirit and tone of the native policy which is initiated by these regulations, and we recognize with great satisfaction that it is one not only of declared opposition to forced labour, but of admission of the claim of the natives to be treated with impartial justice and with special consideration of their position and their needs. The spirit of all present legislation, Sir G. Lagden assures us, is directed against involuntary labour :—

“The Administration feels its responsibility to the black races. It is necessary to make due allowance for their ignorance, defects, and infirmities, and to provide for their equitable treatment and management.”

Sir Godfrey Lagden states that many of the laws of the late Republic regarding natives were sound, but badly administered, while others were contrary to the traditional British policy. More is to be gained by effective administration than by violent legislative changes. Caution must be exercised, so that while

justice and protection are granted to the natives, and their interests are safeguarded, a firm control is secured over them, and sound relations established between them and the European population.

If, as we believe to be the case, the new legislation is on the right lines and provides for many of the reforms which the Anti-Slavery Society in its appeal to the Colonial Office ventured to suggest as being desirable, it is a matter of less concern that Lord Milner should take exception to some of the phrases in the Society's letter of November 9th, 1900 (printed in this Blue Book), which, in his opinion, unduly depreciate Colonial sentiment. The main thing is that Lord Milner and Sir Godfrey Lagden are (as Lord Milner tells us) "in general agreement with most of the principles laid down in the letters" of the Anti-Slavery Society and the Aborigines Protection Society.

With regard to Lord Milner's criticism that these letters are "vitiated" by "the tone of unjustified suspicion, and almost of hostility towards their fellow-countrymen in South Africa" which runs through them, we entirely disclaim, on behalf of the Anti-Slavery Society, the hostility of which the High Commissioner has discovered traces, but we cannot admit that the suspicion or distrust of Colonial sentiment in regard to native questions was unjustified. On the contrary we thought it was pretty generally admitted of the British colonists in South Africa (not the Government) that while their standard and theory were higher than that of other Europeans, in practice they maintained much the same attitude of arrogant indifference to native feelings and interests, if not so cruel, as the rest. "Nothing" it has been said "is more contagious than the cruelty which a dominant race is apt to deal out to an inferior race," and the evidence leads us to believe that the different white races in South Africa were more in agreement with regard to the blacks than on most other subjects. We need only instance, in support of our contention, the treatment of the natives in Rhodesia by the colonists before the Matabele war, and the general feeling of the whites towards the blacks in Natal, which is not what most people in England would thoroughly approve or wish to see expressed in the new legislation in the Transvaal.

Lord Milner stigmatizes the sentence in the Anti-Slavery Society's letter about the exploitation of the native by the white man for the purpose of obtaining cheap labour, as a "reckless accusation." We can only say that with the evidence given at the Industrial Commission at Johannesburg in 1897 and certain open declarations of persons connected with gold-mining at shareholders' meetings before us, we cannot think the language employed was a whit too strong. As a recent example of the sort of attitude referred to, we have before us an extract from a mining journal published in London referring to an order issued lately in Rhodesia, under which Native Commissioners have been precluded from assisting employers directly or indirectly to obtain native labour from the mines. Against this order the mining and farmers' associations have

raised "a great outcry," on the ground that the Government order would deal a most serious blow to the mining industry and to agriculture, and protesting that the previous policy of the Government had worked well, though it ought to have gone further and imposed more necessity on the natives to work.

Now we have it on the authority of Sir Godfrey Lagden in the present Blue Book that "it is, both in the interests of justice and business, undesirable for magistrates or other officers of Government to be employed to recruit labour," such employment placing the officials in a false position.

But when Lord Milner goes on to refer to "the best colonial sentiment in this matter," and instances the contributors to the essays in the volume published last year by the South African Native Races Committee, we feel that the difference between Lord Milner and the Anti-Slavery Society is not so wide as might appear. One of these contributors is the Rev. J. S. Moffat of Cape Town, who in a letter quoted in this very Blue Book states his views (which are also, he tells us, those of a large and influential class with whom he has conferred) as follows:—

"There is no doubt that strong pressure will be brought to bear on the Colonial Office in the settlement of the Northern Territories, in a direction not friendly to the native. That pressure may be expected from two quarters. There are first those who, in their anxiety to conciliate the Boers, will be disposed to do so by yielding to their prejudice against the granting of civil and legal rights to the natives. In other words they would sacrifice the natives.

"Then there is a much more dangerous class, because their power is growing, and will grow, the men who are developing the mineral wealth of South Africa.

"Many of these men make no secret of their intention to use the native simply as so much material to be used (and for that matter used up) for labour purposes without any reference to his rights as a human being."

Elsewhere, Mr. Moffat has strongly emphasized the need for Imperial control over native policy, pointing out the danger of short-sighted considerations on the part of the Colonial Governments.

We are glad to learn that in Lord Milner's judgment "there is an increasing recognition on the part of the colonists of the heavy responsibility involved in the government of the natives and of the duty and necessity of raising them in the scale of civilization."

With these comments on Lord Milner's strictures on this Society's letter, we pass to the far more important matter of the new legislation.

The Proclamation relating to the Pass Regulations deals with the entry of natives into the colony and their subsequent movements. Passes are necessary for natives travelling or seeking employment, and the coloured labourer must hold an identification labour passport, by which it is hoped to protect and control his career as a labourer. Care is taken that the natives should not be misled or coerced by labour agents into involuntary agreements. The duration of contracts is limited to one year, and the cost of providing passports is thrown on to the employer instead of the labourer.

Inspectors are to be appointed in each labour district, to regulate the relations between employers and employed, to supervise contracts, and to prevent such abuses as forced labour and ill-treatment on the one side and desertion on the other.

On the subject of Pass Laws, Sir Godfrey Lagden writes :—

“I am convinced of the necessity of all natives being compelled to carry passes, as much for the security and protection of themselves as for the white people. But under the Republic all coloured persons were under disabilities in the matter of locomotion.

“Under the proposed regulations it is competent for a native to obtain a pass without restriction at any time for the purpose of visiting or personal business provided it is not in violation of any contract of service into which he may have entered. Genuine freedom of movement is thus secured to him.”

The second Proclamation relates to the licensing of Labour Agents and Compound Overseers and contains carefully defined rules. Contracts by a Native Chief, binding himself or his people to provide native labour, are not to be held valid, and the endeavour to obtain them is punishable by fine or imprisonment. To quote again from Sir G. Lagden's Memorandum :—

“Probably nothing tended more in the past to justly infuriate employers of labour than the wholesale desertion and contempt for contracts shown by native labourers, who were instigated thereto by unscrupulous white agents. The persons engaged in the recruitment of native labour were, as a class, unprincipled and irresponsible, and their influence was injurious both to the natives and the employers.

“In order to expedite the demise of this degraded agency, and to provide for its exit, measures have been framed to regulate the whole question of procuring and engaging labourers from all parts by making it a licensed profession or calling. In future only persons, of whose reputable character the authorities are satisfied, will be allowed to engage in the business of recruiting labour, and they will be subject to stringent regulations in the conduct of it.

“Similarly, the calling of a Compound Overseer, upon whom devolves the charge of collective bodies of native labourers is, in future, to be a licensed occupation under Government regulations, the infringement of which will entail substantial penalties.”

The third of the Proclamations allows exemption from the Pass Laws to certain coloured persons including ordained ministers, certificated teachers, and persons exercising a profession or trade, on condition of taking the oath of allegiance. Letters of exemption must be carried by the holder and produced on demand.

The fourth Proclamation prohibits the sale of liquor to coloured persons and imposes severe penalties for breaches of its regulations.

From this very brief outline of the new regulations and from Lord Milner's highly important despatch which we print below almost *in extenso*, it will be seen that the legislation is of a thorough and far-reaching kind. Mr.

Chamberlain has taken a strong line against the infliction of flogging as a penalty for breach of the Pass and Gold Laws, and has urged his opinion that this punishment should be entirely abolished. It is satisfactory to learn that it is now abolished for all offences against the Pass Laws, and apparently can now only be inflicted for one offence against the Gold Law, which is considered very grave.

It is observable that the new regulations appear to give satisfaction to the mining industry as well as to friends of the natives. The abuses which took place under the former *régime* in connection with the illicit supply of liquor to natives, the fleecing of labourers on their way to and from the mines, and the opportunities given for cruelty and fraud on the part of unprincipled employers of labour and middlemen, are well known, and it is greatly to be hoped that the new laws will be efficiently and sympathetically administered in practice.

ADMINISTRATOR LORD MILNER to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Received December 28, 1901.)

High Commissioner's Office, Johannesburg,
December 6, 1901.

SIR,

The publication this week of certain important proclamations affecting the position of natives in this colony, especially of natives working for white employers, seems a suitable occasion for me to make some remarks upon the policy which, subject to the approval of His Majesty's Government, is being and will be pursued with regard to the native question generally in the new territories. In dealing with this matter I shall endeavour to answer, as far as is at present possible, the various questions connected with it which you have from time to time put to me, especially in forwarding the representations made to you by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and by the Aborigines Protection Society. I beg leave to refer in this connection to your despatches.

The final drafts of the proclamations which I have just referred to were sent you in my despatch of the 29th November, together with a memorandum from Sir Godfrey Lagden. I entirely agree with Sir Godfrey Lagden in the remark contained in that memorandum that "There are many sides to the native question, administrative and political, which it would be premature now to enlarge upon. There is much yet to be learnt by those who are vested with the control of native affairs, and every reason why they should not be hurried." At the same time I feel that while the many difficult problems which are covered by the general term "the native question" can only be dealt with gradually, and by the light of experience, it is quite possible to indicate the spirit and some of the general principles in which we intend to approach them. What these principles are will appear, to a great extent, from a careful consideration of the manner in which we are now dealing with that portion of the native question

which first presented itself to the new administration. I refer especially to the recruitment of natives for working in the mines, to their supervision while working there, and to the sale of liquor.

It is evident that the equally important, though perhaps not equally difficult questions, of the government of natives working on farms, or living in their own districts, cannot be practically dealt with at present. Farming operations are suspended throughout the greater part of the country, while the large native districts in the north are for the moment under little, if any, European control. The Boers have virtually abandoned them, while any authority at present exercised there by us is purely military, and confined to one or two principal places which are in military occupation.

This great branch of native administration cannot therefore be thoroughly taken in hand for the moment. We can only touch the fringe of it. But, inasmuch as the Aborigines Protection Society in their letter of the 11th January, attach, and rightly attach, great importance to it, and explain their views concerning it at some length, it may be desirable briefly to state what are the intentions of this Administration as at present advised with regard to this matter. In all districts in which there is a large independent native population, the control of native affairs will be in the hands of a Native Commissioner directly responsible to Sir Godfrey Lagden, and the greatest care will be taken that these Commissioners, who will occupy an important position in the Government service, and receive considerable salaries, are men of high character, intimately acquainted with native laws and habits, having the interests of the natives at heart, and, as far as possible, familiar with their language. We are in fact seeking for men of the same class as the best of those who have rendered native administration a success in Basutoland, in the Protectorate, and in the Transkei. We shall require at least five such Commissioners with younger men under them as Assistant Commissioners who will be trained in their school. . . . Without the right men I need hardly say the best principles and the best laws are, in the matter of native administration, almost useless. I am, therefore, entirely in accordance with Sir Godfrey Lagden in desiring to see the Native Commissioners most carefully selected. In this respect the slow settlement of the country, for other reasons so deplorable, has its advantages, as it gives us more time to look round and carefully pick our agents. In doing so the great importance of a knowledge of the native languages, which forms the subject of your despatch of 12th April, will be borne in mind. There have been and are some splendid Native Administrators whose linguistic attainments are poor, and it would be folly to waste such men for that reason merely. But other things being equal, the man who can converse fluently with the natives in their own language has a great advantage, and every encouragement will be given to the acquisition of this aptitude.

As regards the methods of government to be adopted, I am in general agreement (and in saying this I speak also for Sir Godfrey Lagden and the other

members of the Administration) with most of the principles laid down in the letters already referred to. That is to say, I agree with the Aborigines Protection Society that native institutions should not be unnecessarily interfered with ; that their existing system of communal tenure and of tribal government, and their traditional customs, as far as they are not in gross conflict with civilized ideas, should be respected ; that they should not be compelled by force or induced by fraud to leave their own country for service with white men ; and that their taxation should be in proportion to the services rendered and the benefits bestowed upon them by our Government. Finally, I think, though this is not a point specially touched upon by the Society, that much more should be done for the education of the natives than has ever yet been attempted in the Transvaal. I do not mean that they should be educated like Europeans, for their requirements and capacities are very different, but that they should be trained to develop their natural aptitudes for their own good and that of the community. Undoubtedly the greatest benefit that could be bestowed upon them or South Africa generally would be to teach them habits of regular and skilled labour. So far from sharing the prejudices, which seem to be felt by some of your correspondents, against any form of inducement to the natives to work for whites, I think that, as long as the inducements are legitimate, the more natives that are engaged in mining and other industrial pursuits the better for them and for the country. But while saying this I desire once for all formally to disclaim, on behalf of this Administration, any desire or intention to compel natives to enter into the service of white employers by any means whatever.

Perhaps there is nothing more which can be said with advantage at present on the subject of the government of natives in their own districts. I return, therefore, to the more immediately pressing question of the protection and control of the natives voluntarily leaving their homes to enter the service of whites, which is the subject of the Proclamations just issued. The immediate reform of the existing laws dealing with this matter has been forced upon the Government by the resumption of the mining industry (though, as you are aware, it is as yet being resumed only on a small scale), and by the influx of a certain number of native labourers from the North who are seeking employment on the mines. It was also necessary to provide for the still greater influx, shortly, as we hope, about to take place from the neighbouring Portuguese territory, which has always furnished a great proportion of the mine labourers, and where there are at present a very large number anxious to come, as soon as the Government of that territory will allow them.

It is difficult for anyone reading the Proclamations without a knowledge of local circumstances, as it would have been even more difficult for anyone reading the old laws, to disentangle from their detailed provisions the main lines of administration which they embody. But I think I can put briefly before you the principal points in which the new laws differ from the old.

Before doing so, however, I wish to make one general remark. It would not be easy to exaggerate the evils of the old system, the confusion, the demoralization, the injustice to natives and the loss to employers, which formerly made the condition of native labour in the mining areas of the Transvaal a crying scandal, and a constant source of complaint alike to the friends of the natives and the representatives of the mining industry. But it was not so much bad laws which were to blame for this, as very bad administration. The root idea of the old Pass Law was not a wrong one. If aboriginal natives are to come and go in large numbers in search of labour, and to reside for considerable periods in the midst of a white community, there must be some passport system, else the place will be a pandemonium. Alike for the protection of the natives and for the protection of the whites, it is absolutely essential to have some reasonable arrangements by which the incoming native can be identified, and his movements traced. Nor is it unjust, indeed it is necessary, that when he has freely entered into a contract he should be bound to observe the terms of it, just as the other party should be bound to discharge the obligations which by that contract he undertakes towards the native. It was not the Pass Law as a whole (I am not speaking of certain harsh provisions of it, now removed) but the abuses connected with it, and especially the irregular exactions to which the natives were subjected in obtaining and renewing their passes, which made the old system so unfair. And the same remark applies in other directions. The old law did not admit the principle of compulsion, yet in fact natives were in many cases compelled to work on terms not voluntarily or not intelligently accepted by themselves. The law against supplying natives with liquor was severe, yet an enormous proportion of them were constantly drunk.

The improvement of the laws is therefore merely a first step. It is only sound and honest administration which can make the best of laws of any use. Among the changes at present being introduced I attach perhaps the greatest importance to those provisions which are intended to improve the character of the men having the most intimate dealing with the natives, and to ensure to the Government an effective control of their proceedings.

To return to the laws themselves. The principal differences between the new system and the old (I am not attempting to go into minor details) are the following :—

Firstly :—The persons engaged in recruiting native labour, or in looking after the labourers when engaged and resident on the mines, are in future bound to have a licence from the Government. No man will be allowed to pursue the avocations either of a labour agent or of a compound overseer without having satisfied the Commissioner for Native Affairs of his fitness, and the permission granted to him will be cancelled if he abuses his position. Labour agents and compound overseers are also subject to severe penalties for any misconduct. In practice this is a matter of the greatest importance. Many of the worst evils of the old system were due to the existence of an irresponsible class of labour

touts and to the unscrupulous proceedings of compound managers in trying to steal natives from one another. All this must be put a stop to. And the regulations now introduced for the first time will, if properly carried out, make such abuses in future impossible.

Secondly :—The Government for the first time takes upon itself the responsibility of ensuring that the native when he enters into a labour contract does so voluntarily and with a knowledge of what he is about, and of seeing that he gets what he bargains for. Under the new regulations no native can be brought into a labour district without a passport, and no passport can be granted to him except by a Government official, who has first to satisfy himself that the native understands the terms of his agreement, and that the agreement is voluntary. Moreover, labour agents who induce natives to engage themselves by wilful misrepresentation are liable to fine or imprisonment and lose their licences. So much for the inception of a contract. As regards its fulfilment, the Government again steps in and by means of another class of officials—the inspectors of natives—provides a system of supervision that gives both to the native and to his employer an easy means of redress for breaches of contract. The position of inspectors is a wholly different one from what it was under the old law. Formerly they had but little power and were chiefly concerned in looking after the payment of fees. Under the present system they have nothing to do with the collection of money, but are armed with very considerable powers for redressing grievances, or for bringing them, when beyond their own power to redress, before the magistrates or the Commissioner for Native Affairs. They have also a limited jurisdiction for disciplinary purposes.

Thirdly :—The system of identifying and tracing the movements of the native labourer is greatly simplified to the benefit of the native, and I trust also to the relief of his employer and of the Administration, by substituting a single passport for the number of passes which he was formerly compelled to take out under various circumstances. This one passport will accompany him from the time he leaves his home to the time when he returns to it, and will contain a record of all his intervening services, and provide an almost perfect means of identifying him. Moreover, the passport will be in his own charge, and not kept by his employer. This may be difficult to carry out at first, owing to the great carelessness of the natives in such matters, and I fear that the Clause, which provides for renewals of passports in cases of loss, will often have to be resorted to in the immediate future. But gradually, as the natives discover the immense advantages to themselves of carefully preserving their passports, it is in accordance with all experience of their character to suppose that they will develop the habit of safeguarding them. . . .

Fourthly :—The native will have nothing to pay for his passport (unless he loses it, in which case he has to pay for its renewal) nor will he be subject to any other deduction from the wages stipulated for in his contract. Under the old system, one of the great grievances was that the natives were subject to so many deductions from their wages, legal as well as arbitrary.

Fifthly:—No labour contract will be made for more than one year, except with the express permission of the Native Commissioner, but the native, if he deserts without cause, can be compelled, in addition to any punishment inflicted upon him for desertion, to return and complete the period of service for which he contracted. In old days the period for which he contracted was unlimited.

Sixthly:—Though the native is compelled to fulfil his contract, and is liable, if he breaks it, to fine and imprisonment, he is no longer liable to be flogged for desertion, nor indeed for any offence under the Pass Law. It should be noticed that inducing a labourer to desert is also made a criminal offence, and visited with very heavy penalties. Under the old system the frequency of desertion was one of the greatest evils, and did more than anything to create bad feeling between employer and employed. There was harshness on the one side and unscrupulous trickery on the other; but in the great majority of cases the desertion was not so much due to any desire on the part of the native to escape his engagements, as to the temptations held out to him by unprincipled Europeans to do so. If this nefarious traffic can now be stopped, the employers of labour will undoubtedly gain more from this change for the better than they can possibly lose by any increased expense resulting from the transfer to them of costs of administration formerly borne by the natives.

But undoubtedly the greatest benefit which it is in the power of the Government to confer, alike upon mine owner and native, is the suppression of the illicit drink traffic. But this more than anything else depends, not on the terms of the law, but on its administration. In the Proclamation dealing with this matter, which forms one of the series recently sent to you, we have taken over the principle of total prohibition embodied in the legislation of the late Government. Indeed, the new law on this point differs from the old in no important particular, except that the penalties for supplying natives with drink are rendered more severe, and especially that no option of a fine is allowed. Experience has conclusively proved that the illicit liquor dealers laughed at even a heavy fine. They were generally agents of wealthy principals, who could not themselves be got at, and who, making enormous profits out of the demoralization of the native, could easily afford to pay the fines inflicted upon those who worked for them. I admit that the penalties now imposed are of great severity; but then we have to deal with an evil of great magnitude. There is no doubt that the new Administration has before it a severe struggle with one of the most powerful, as it is one of the most degraded, agencies for making money by the corruption of one's fellow creatures. For such a conflict it ought to be armed with the strongest weapons. The real fight has got to come, and it will be a great fight. All I can say is that the Administration is thoroughly alive to the momentous importance of the question, and that it has the public opinion of the respectable majority of the European inhabitants solid at its back. The real difficulty, of course, is that in the control of the liquor traffic the Government has to employ hundreds of

agents, and the profit to be derived from making natives drunk is so enormous that every one of these agents will be exposed to bribes, and very big bribes. But while I realize the difficulties, I also feel that we are bound, by hook or by crook, to overcome them. The whole credit of this Administration is at stake in the matter, and I feel confident that His Majesty's Government will support us in the view that no effort and no expense should be spared in carrying out a policy which, if successful, will mean a momentous triumph for civilization in this part of the world.

The last point to which I need refer on this occasion is the Proclamation giving power to the Commissioner for Native Affairs to exempt coloured persons of a higher degree of civilization than the mass of the aboriginal natives from the provisions of the Pass Law. It is necessary that the law itself should apply to coloured persons, as a body, for it would be neither desirable nor practicable to throw upon Pass officers and policemen the difficult and often impossible task of distinguishing between one coloured man and another, and saying who was, or who was not a "native." But, on the other hand, it is clear that the reasons which exist for compelling the bulk of coloured persons to be supplied with passes or passports in going hither and thither at a distance from their homes, are not applicable to those coloured persons who, like the better class of Cape boys, conform in their habits and conduct to civilized standards, and are much further removed from the raw Kaffir than they are from the European. You will remember that one of the most troublesome controversies between His Majesty's Government and the late Government of the Transvaal arose out of the oppressive treatment of Cape boys under the pass system. It is true that it was not so much the system itself as the scandalous abuses practised under it by certain Transvaal officials, against which we protested. At the same time the course of the controversy illustrated the necessity, which was finally acknowledged even by the Transvaal Government, of making some distinction in law between the treatment of coloured persons of a superior degree of civilization and that of the ordinary native. This principle is now embodied in the Proclamation under discussion, which empowers the Commissioner for Native Affairs to grant certificates of exemption to such coloured persons as may appear entitled to them, irrespective of race, which certificates will exempt them from the necessity of taking out passes or passports. It is the intention of the Government to interpret this concession liberally, so that all respectable coloured persons may be free from unnecessary inconvenience. And the Proclamation provides that the exemption, which at present only applies to the Pass Law, may in future be extended to other laws, should there be such, which may be necessary for the special protection and control of the bulk of the Kaffir population, but are not required in the case of civilized coloured men.

Generally speaking, I claim for the Native Code which we are trying to introduce, and of which these Proclamations are the first instalment, that it is conceived in the best interests of the natives, and that any restrictions imposed on their personal

liberty do not go beyond what is necessary, not only for the protection of the white population, but for the good of the natives themselves. Moreover, the control which it is proposed to exercise over the natives is so devised as to improve and not to degrade them.

As far as possible also, regard has been paid to laws on the same subject existing in other British Colonies in South Africa. The need of uniformity of policy in native questions is generally recognized, and, while it will probably be reserved for a Federal Parliament to frame a Native Code for all South Africa, it is incumbent on the authorities of the several States to do nothing in the meanwhile which will make that desirable consummation more difficult of attainment. As compared with the old Transvaal law the present measures are undoubtedly, in this respect, a step in the right direction.

In conclusion, I ought to say that the Administration, in framing the present measures, have had the benefit of the advice of leading colonists, thoroughly familiar with the intricacies of the old Pass Law, and with the difficulties presented by the regulation of native labour. And we have derived the greatest assistance from them. While sympathizing with the objects of the Anti-Slavery Society and the Aborigines Protection Society, I cannot too earnestly protest against the tone of unjustified suspicion, and almost of hostility towards their fellow-countrymen in South Africa, running through the letters of 9th November, 1900, and 11th January, 1901, a tone which vitiates and weakens their advocacy of the cause of the natives. Most especially would I raise a warning voice against the fatal doctrine that the Imperial Government is to deal with the native question regardless of colonial sentiment. That doctrine, absurdly enough, is often preached in the very quarters where there is the loudest demand for the immediate complete self-government of the new territories. I believe that such immediate self-government is absolutely impracticable, but for that very reason I am anxious that the Imperial authorities, being obliged for a time to deal autocratically with the affairs of the colonists, should show, not less, but more regard for colonial settlement. To run counter to it will not only lead to the estrangement of the colonies, but it will react most injuriously upon the natives, whenever—and the time must come before many years—native and all other local affairs pass under local control.

Moreover it is a complete mistake to think that the Imperial authorities cannot do their duty by the natives without coming into conflict with colonial sentiment, always provided that they bear in mind that they have also a duty to the whites. The best colonial sentiment in this matter is not far removed from the best home sentiment, as represented for instance by temperate and reasonable advocates of native rights, such as the contributors to the collection of valuable and well-informed essays, recently published by the "Native Races Committee." And the two points of view tend more and more to approximate to one another. On the one hand, there is now a better appreciation at home of the difficulties confronting the colonists, and of the

impracticability of governing natives, who, at best, are children, needing and appreciating a just paternal government, on the same principles as apply to the government of full-grown men. On the other hand, there is an increasing recognition on the part of the colonists of the heavy responsibility involved in the government of a vast native population, and of the duty and necessity of raising them in the scale of civilization. But this hopeful process of approximation would be utterly upset if the Imperial Government were to approach this delicate question in the prejudiced and ill-informed spirit which seems to animate many well-meaning people at home, but which would be justly resented by the whole of white South Africa, including those men who are most active in the defence of native rights.

This remark applies especially to the question of native labour. According to the Anti-Slavery Society, while the treatment of the natives by the Boers in the Transvaal "is well known to have been utterly lacking in humanity, their treatment by British colonists, it is to be feared, has not been, in practice, much better," for "the native . . . has been exploited for the purpose of obtaining cheap labour, and condemned to a lot which is one of oppression and servitude."

And the Aborigines Protection Society, while it does not level against the whole European population of this Colony an accusation quite so reckless, is evidently haunted by the fear that the Government can be made the cat's paw of the mining industry, to procure labourers for them by compulsion, and to arbitrarily reduce the rate of wages. I can only say that, whatever ill-considered remarks on this subject may at times be thrown out at shareholders' meetings, the leaders of the mining industry in this country have never made the faintest suggestion that the Government of the Colony should do any such thing. The idea that the Government should obtain labourers for them, by compulsion or otherwise, or that they should use their power to fix the rate of wages, has never been even hinted to me. Of course, the employers of labour in the Transvaal, whether farmers or mine owners, desire, like all other employers in the world, to obtain labour as cheaply as possible, though they would be sanguine indeed if they expected ever to get unskilled Kaffir labour for the wages which would be joyfully accepted by unskilled labourers in many European countries. And if, by combination amongst themselves, they can prevent those wages from being forced up to a preposterous pitch, cramping not only industry, but agriculture, it may well be doubted whether their action would not be beneficial rather than otherwise to the whole community, not excepting the natives themselves. But, in any case, it is no business of the Government's to interfere in the matter, nor have the mine owners suggested that it should be. What they *do* ask is that the Government should do what it can to prevent the natives, whom they have obtained at a great cost, and whose interests are safeguarded by the law in so many ways, from breaking away from their contracts in a mere access of childish levity or being tempted away by unprincipled labour thieves.

And this is surely a reasonable demand. If the Government has a duty towards the native, and should see to it that his engagement is voluntary, that faith is kept with him, and that proper provisions are made for his health and comfort, it has also a duty to his employer, and to the whole white population, whose well-being is in a hundred ways so deeply affected by the prosperity of the mines. [It will be none the worse for the natives, indeed it will be all the better for them, if, while jealously protecting native interests, the Government are also animated by a spirit of fairness and friendliness to the great industry—built up by the skill, the science, the indefatigable labours, the enterprise undaunted by official bullying and discouragement, of thousands of our fellow-countrymen and other Europeans—upon the continued progress of which the welfare of the Transvaal, and indeed of all South Africa for at least a century, will mainly depend.

I have, &c.,

MILNER,

Administrator.

Freed Slaves in Pemba.

At the end of last year we received a letter from Mr. Herbert Armitage of the Friends' Industrial Mission in Pemba, drawing attention to the unsatisfactory arrangement which has recently been introduced in regard to freed slaves in the island. The system of making them sign contracts with employers is fully described in the letter below, which was also sent to the editor of *The Speaker*, and published in that journal on December 28th. Mr. Armitage tells us that this system is being very quietly introduced, and is not called a contract system, but is supposed to be the outcome of the Labour Bureau movement.

The Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society have had this matter before them for consideration, and at their January meeting they had the advantage of hearing the views of Miss Emily Hutchinson, a lady missionary from Pemba, now at home on furlough, who spoke of the disadvantages under which the slaves who get their freedom are now placed; they are denied choice of residence or occupation, and they get no money wages. Two years ago verbal contracts used often to be made in Court between employers and freed labourers, but in these no term of labour was specified—making it possible for the labourer to seek better employment if dissatisfied;—a premium was thus put upon fair treatment by employers, and, moreover, money wages were paid for work in the clove-harvest. These agreements are said to have worked successfully, and it is difficult to see why a much more stringent form of contract, which is likely to reduce the advantages of fair dealing on both sides to a minimum, should have been introduced. The new practice has doubtless been adopted with a view to prevent idleness and vagrancy on the part of the freed slaves, but Mr. Consul Cave has

stated (in his Report on the Trade of Zanzibar in 1900, published in October last), that there is only one way by which the slave can be induced to do continuous work, and that is by offering him a settled home *and settled wages*. The Vice-Consul in Pemba has also stated (in his Report for 1899) that slaves, both freed and unfreed, "are quite willing to work *when they receive adequate remuneration* for their labour, and that they will do as good a day's work under those conditions as could be desired."

A question was put by Mr. J. A. Pease, M.P., on this subject in the House of Commons on January 20th, which will be found on another page. It would appear from the answer given by Lord Cranborne that the Government know nothing of these contracts, as he only referred to another practice which was discontinued, as our readers may remember, at the end of 1899, the matter having been brought before the Foreign Office by this Society, and which was quite distinct from the practice which is now complained of. The regulation has probably been made by local officials, by way of experiment.

The Committee is endeavouring to gain further information, and the matter will not be allowed to drop, as the plan of making the freed slaves work under contract for three or five years on the terms named would appear to put a premium on the status of slavery, and is, as far as we can at present see, contrary to the spirit of the Decree of 1897. In the Instructions issued by the Government in February, 1897, prior to that Decree, the plan of making the slaves work under contract, even for wages, was expressly set aside as open to objection.

MR. H. ARMITAGE'S LETTER.

November 18th, 1901.

"Ninety-eight per cent. of the slaves of Zanzibar and Pemba prefer to remain slaves."

DEAR SIR,

So many English newspapers have referred in some way or other to the fact that the slaves in these islands prefer to remain in slavery, and so few of the papers appear to be able to give a better reason for this strange choice on the part of the slave than those advanced in the recently issued Blue Books, that it appears to me a little information on the subject would not be out of place.

In one paragraph, the reason may be given shortly thus:—The position of the slave since the passing of the Edict of 1897 has vastly improved. The position of the Freed slave has not improved to the same extent, in fact in many ways the Freed slave has fewer advantages than the slave.

Let us look at a few of them.

A slave while he is a slave, since the passing of the Edict, cannot be beaten—cannot be made to work—and during the clove picking season receives pay for all he picks at the same rate as the Freed slave, and, moreover, if he should be able to obtain better wages from another planter he can run away from his master and work elsewhere. The Freed slave, on the other hand, when he applies

for freedom will in all probability be sent away to some distant shamba—thus leaving the place where he was born, perhaps, or at any rate, where he has lived for many years, and has formed many friendships. That is one of the first drawbacks against his obtaining his freedom.

Then, secondly, he is required to give a promise that he will stay on the shamba to which he is sent—he may not leave it without the consent of the Court. He must work three days every week for his master without any wages, in return for a place to build his house and sufficient land to grow his Muhogs, etc., the master being expected to supply him with food until his first crop is ready. Should the Freed slave decline to work, the master (now that the slave has become a free man) can bring him before the Court which has power to punish him.

Recently in the Court in Pemba the practice of filling in a regular Contract has been tried, and each slave now has to sign his mark to the following:—

[ENGLISH COPY OF FREED SLAVES' CONTRACT.]

"I, _____ hereby agree to work for _____ on his shamba (situated) at _____ for three days in every week for a term of _____ years in return for sufficient land on that shamba for my personal use, care in sickness, material for building my house, and food until I obtain my first crop.

Witness,

(Slave makes his mark here)

X. "

This at first sight appears to be a very fair arrangement, and in some respects it is, but it is noticeable that there is *no* obligation on the Arab's part to employ the man on the other four days of the week, or to pay him any money whatever, and as far as my experience goes they do not pay him any money at all. It is an absolute necessity to the Freed slave to have some money with which to buy his clothes, his oil, and other matters connected with his house-keeping. Supposing the Freed slave is a woman, how is she to manage under this arrangement? In the recently issued Blue Book (Africa, No. 4) the astounding statement is made that "Nearly every unmarried native woman in Pemba has become a prostitute." If that is so, would it not appear that a contract form of this kind, providing no money payment whatever, would rather tend to bring this about? A woman out here, as at home, is very fond of appearing well dressed and in the latest mode, and how is she to buy her clothes?

During the clove season, the slaves and Freed slaves can earn big amounts if they are industrious; and the presumption is, I gather, that out of that they can put by sufficient for the rest of the year. Some of them have done this, and some have even bought little holdings of their own, but the great majority are as yet thriftless—they cannot count, and have very little idea of what money can do, and so spend it as fast as it is received.

All the advantages of the Decree of 1897 which was passed in the interests of the slaves appear to be gained by the Arab masters.

The Arab gets compensation money for each slave freed.

He gets Freed slaves back upon his shamba who work three days a week without pay, and, moreover he can appeal to the Court to make them work, should they refuse.

If he doubles the number of Freed people on his shamba, and works one half of them the three first days of the week, and the other half the last three days he then gets a full six days per week work without having to pay anything at all—and what is the difference between this state of things and slavery itself?

Personally, I cannot wonder at the slaves preferring to remain as they are with the *Name* of slaves, but with comparative liberty, rather than make the effort—for it still needs a very decided effort—to obtain what is known among themselves as "Government Liberty," but which is hampered by conditions which would appear to make it a greater servitude than that from which they have escaped.

And why, one may very properly ask, should the Arabs be thus re-supplied with "slaves," I was just about to write, but we must remember that they are free (though not free to go where they like), so we must say, labourers? The Arabs have received compensation for each slave, surely some compensation is due to the slave, or, if that is expecting too much, at least the compensation money should be expended in wages.

At the bottom of this supply of free labour to the Arab planters, lies another question. The Government of Zanzibar indirectly derives benefit from the supply of cheap labour to the clove plantations. There is a duty upon the export of Cloves of 25%, and not only are the Pemba planters called upon to pay this excessive duty, but they must also pay it in Zanzibar, thus saving the Government the trouble and expense of collecting it in Pemba.

With this heavy burden upon the Clove industry some shamba owners have endeavoured to turn their attention to growing other produce for the markets of Mombasa or Tanga which are often much more accessible than Zanzibar; this has been met at once by an order from the Zanzibar Government, prohibiting the export of all Pemba produce to any other port except Zanzibar. Thus during many months when it is quite impossible to send perishable goods to Zanzibar, owing to contrary winds the Pemba growers may not avail themselves of the said winds to carry their produce to Mombasa.

Certainly while the planters in this island are so heavily handicapped by this abnormally heavy duty on the one hand, and this hindering restriction on the other, there is no great wonder if they are somewhat slow to appreciate paying for labour.

The theory advanced so often against the Freed slave that he will not work has by this time been quite exploded. He will work for money payment—I will readily grant that you have to watch him to get full value; he still has the slave

instinct to sit down and "rest" whenever he can do so without being caught. But on piece work he does well, and by and by when he finds that the best workman gets best pay he will, I am sure, rise to the occasion. Even now there is a vast improvement among those who have had regular work under proper oversight during the last few years. But how can we expect the Freed slave to develop under the three-day contract system, when, however well he may do his work, he will get no compensating advantage except the very doubtful one that "the willing slave gets the most work"?

We hear that changes are shortly to be inaugurated in this protectorate—they are badly needed. And let us hope that one of the first may be to sweep this slavery right away with its accompanying objectionable practices.

I am, yours truly,

HERBERT ARMITAGE.

*Friends' Industrial Mission,
Pemba, Zanzibar.*

P.S.—While I have been writing this letter a very forcible example of the truth of the statements contained in it has passed through my hands.

We are engaged in building a house at Chaki Chaki, the chief town in Pemba, and among our work-people there was a man named Ufunguo (a key). This man had applied to Mr. Burt for freedom, but as no Court for freeing slaves was held here—the Commissioner being in Zanzibar for three weeks—the man was given work among the rest of our people upon our building.

Ufunguo was most anxious to remain with the Friends' Mission, and we on our part were equally willing he should stay—we had plenty of room for him and plenty of work.

After working with us for several days and receiving regularly his daily wage of 20 pice, he became more anxious to continue in our service. Yesterday, however, the Commissioner, Mr. J. P. Farler, having returned, and a Court being held, Ufunguo was sent to receive his freedom. I wrote a letter for him to take, saying that he was in our regular employment and that we wished him to remain with us subject, of course, to Mr. Farler's approval.

Ufunguo left his work and took his letter and applied for his freedom. Arrived at the Court he was freed, but was told he could no longer live on our Mission Station or work for us, but was sent the same day to one of the Government plantations, the only consideration shown to him being that, inasmuch as he was not allowed to live on our land and work for us, at his request he was placed on the Government shamba nearest to us.

This man, then, by applying for and obtaining his freedom—freedom, indeed!—suffers a loss of his liberty! For he may not go where he likes—a loss of at least half of his present income, and is now (absolutely against his will) placed under the contract system.

What will this man think of the advantages of "freedom?" Will he recommend his former fellow-slaves to go and do likewise?

H. A.

Parliamentary.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *January 20th.*

SLAVERY IN PEMBA.

MR. JOSEPH A. PEASE: I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whether he can state under what authority the slaves in the Island of Pemba, when receiving their freedom from the Court under the Decree of 6th April, 1897, are required to sign a contract whereby they agree to work for a certain employer for three days in every week for a term of years, in return for a plot of land, care in sickness, building material, and food for a limited period, the employer being in no way bound to employ the man on the other days of the week, or to pay him any money wages whatever; whether the freed slaves under this system are liable to be allotted to employers against their will, and denied any choice of residence or occupation: and whether steps will be taken to adhere to the intention and spirit of the Decree of April, 1897, as explained in the instructions issued by His Majesty's Government to the Consul-General at Zanzibar respecting the abolition of the legal status of slavery.

LORD CRANBORNE: The allusion is probably to the system described at page 9 of Africa No. 4 (1901) under which the Court used at one time to arrange a contract for the slave at the time the latter applied to be freed. In consequence, however, of a direction from home the authorities in Pemba abandoned this system. It seems then that the hon. gentleman has been misinformed.

Slavery in East Africa.

BY

ALDERMAN J. DUCKWORTH, J.P. (Rochdale).

[The following article has been kindly sent to us for publication by the writer, who was for some time in the House of Commons as M.P. for the Middleton Division of Lancashire, and there took an active interest in this question. Mr. Duckworth writes with the experience of one who has been able to see the present position for himself on a recent visit to Zanzibar.—ED. *A-S. Reporter.*]

Having just returned with our General Missionary Secretary, the Rev. H. T. Chapman, from a visit to the Mission Stations of the United Methodist Free Churches in East Africa, it occurred to me that a few words on the slavery question might not be unacceptable to your readers. I am quite aware that a short stay of two or three months in a country does not entitle one to dogmatize, and I have no sympathy with the sentiment that "the less a person knows of a place, the more he can say about it, as in that case there is the greater scope for

the imagination." Therefore, what I give will be such impressions as I received, and such facts as came in my way both on the mainland and in the Islands of Pemba and Zanzibar.

Every humane person will be pleased to know that while slavery dies hard, it is dying, and the condition and prospects of the slave are more hopeful than at any time since we took over the responsibilities of government. Several things have contributed to this. (1) The persistent questions and criticisms of M.P.'s in the House have not been without effect, and the interpretation placed by Lord Salisbury on the 4th article of the Decree two years ago gave the officials to see that they must not play fast and loose with the slavery question. (2) The watchful eye of the missionary on the spot has repeatedly been of great service to the slave, although as I did not fail to point out to them, in making representations to your Society, or to members of the House, they should be quite sure of their facts. (3) The changes which have taken place in the *personnel* of the officials will hasten the time when "no slave can breathe in these islands of the sea," or in our Protectorate on the mainland. The removal of Sir A. Hardinge, the late Consul-General, is so much to the good. Sir Arthur is a capable official, and in many respects a worthy man, but he made no secret of his views on the slavery question, and these were not in harmony with English sentiment and conviction. The death of Gen. Sir Lloyd Mathews which occurred while we were at Mombasa, will, I hope and trust, put the last nail in the coffin of slavery. Gen. Mathews had a kindly disposition, his kindness to the poor and infirm, to children, and to strangers who might be stranded on the island, was very great indeed, and the solemn and imposing spectacle at his funeral showed the hold he had on all classes of the people; even Arab women who are seldom permitted to be seen outside their houses lined the street as the mournful *cortège* passed. But this, and other good qualities which he undoubtedly possessed, coupled with his long term of office, made it difficult for him to initiate and carry out needful reforms. He was the Arabs' friend, and to interfere with their customs more than was absolutely necessary would not be congenial to him. With the advent of a new man, greater pressure from the Home Government should be used, and it is to be hoped he will have the courage to carry out what I am sure is the determination of our people, that is, that slavery shall not be possible in any place where the British flag is unfurled. (4) But perhaps the greatest factor in favour of the slave in Africa is the economic difficulty with which the Arab has been brought face to face. The working of the Decree has *not* been favourable to him, for without his slaves the Arab is a helpless creature, he cannot work, and he is too proud to beg, and the conditions which have enabled his slave to say, if he is not properly treated, "I will apply for my freedom," have put him in a hopeless position. The freed slave can easily get work on a Government shamba, or on the shambas belonging to a Mission Station, and as the Arab has no idea of paying money for work done, his shambas are neglected, and either badly cultivated, or going out of

cultivation altogether. Of course there are some exceptions. Amongst the more enlightened there is an attempt made to adapt themselves to changes; but as a rule the Arab is bankrupt, and his estates mortgaged to the Indian. To go into their houses as I did on several occasions, and see the half-starved slaves creeping about; the bare walls which did not appear to have been white-washed for years, the dilapidated furniture and insanitary conditions, forced me to the conclusion that this state of things could not continue. I believe it would be a kindness to the Arab himself if the Government had the courage to declare all slaves free!

There is, I am aware, the question of compensation. Under the Decree the Government of Zanzibar undertook to compensate the master where a slave claimed his or her freedom, and this amounts to between 50 and 100 rupees (£3 6s. 8d. to £6 13s. 4d.), according to age, strength, sex, etc. But what are the facts of the case? If many slaves are liberated the authorities simply say there is no money in the coffers; thus the whole movement is blocked. In Mr. Farler's report for 1899, which is the latest I have by me, he says that during the previous year 53,360 rupees had been awarded; of this amount 24,410 rupees were paid, leaving about 30,000, or considerably over one-half, unpaid. In this condition of things what encouragement is there for officials to hasten the liberation of slaves? The time appears ripe for drastic changes, and I cannot but believe that the officials themselves would welcome them. Some of the men with whom I conversed are expecting them. The Sultan is a feeble man and cannot, in the nature of things, hold out long. The Uganda railway has brought the Protectorates nearer together, and they might now well be brought under one administration with a saving of officials, costs, etc., and the agreement with the Sultan in respect of the ten mile limit might be closed on easy terms, and then the welcome proclamation could be made that *all slaves were really free!* A small tax on free labour could be easily collected, and it would be better than Arab money wrung from people in bondage. The country is now quiet, and there is little need for the large item of military expenditure shown in Sir Charles Eliot's very interesting and able report. Sir Charles is an efficient administrator; he has made a good impression, and stands well with the people. I trust he will see his way to advise the Home Government to carry out these and other reforms. We have spent our millions freely to enfranchise the Outlanders in the South, surely a few thousands to free the natives in the East might be spared. O for a Clarkson or a Wilberforce to wipe out this national stain!

It is said the natives will not work. Is it any wonder? What encouragement is there for them to do so? Slavery is debasing and demoralising in every way, and it will take time to eradicate its baleful effects, but it is pleasing to notice the different spirit in which the freed man goes about his work. On our own Mission Stations they joined us at six o'clock for service in the church, and then went off to their shambas for the day, many of them singing as they went, and as happy as could be. We visited the Friends' Industrial Mission on the Island of Pemba, and were very favourably impressed with what we saw.

During the last five years they have assisted over 1,000 persons to secure their freedom. This is a splendid work if they had done nothing else, but they have done more, much more. At Banani the Friends have an estate for which they paid nearly £1,000; it is beautifully situated on the creek, and well laid out in shambas, with fine avenues of cocoa-nut, palm, clove, mango, and other trees. On these shambas the people work eight hours per day for five and a half days in the week, the men receiving $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. and the women 2d. per day, which is the rate of wages paid on the Government shambas. But besides this they are better housed than we had seen elsewhere, and around each house, or near to it, was a piece of land which the tenant cultivates for his own needs, and which he enjoys free of cost. We went into the first house built on the estate, and also the last one, and were pleased with their comfortable appearance. The houses must be built according to a plan, and contain at least two rooms, but some have three or more. The people looked happy and contented, but many of those advanced in years showed the marks of former servitude. While talking with Mr. Burt, the missionary-in-charge, a man came to speak with him. He said he was a slave, had come from a place he named, and had walked sixteen miles that morning. His request was that the missionary would assist him to secure his freedom. The man looked respectable and intelligent, and my indignation was aroused at the thought that he should be held and owned as a slave by anyone. Great credit is due to Mr. and Mrs. Burt for the good work they are doing at Banani, and also to Mr. and Miss Armitage, whom we visited at Chaki Chaki. These good people have begun their mission work at the right end. They have no church, but a large room in the mission house that will hold 200 people. Here daily services are held, as well as a school for children, but the most prominent thing is to teach the people to work and become independent, they being taught also by the precepts and example of those who are giving their lives to serve them, the importance of living pure, moral, and Christian lives.

The kidnapping of slaves, though not so frequent as formerly, is still carried on in spite of the vigilance of the authorities. Arab dhows generally flying the French flag move stealthily about the creeks, and even in the harbour of Zanzibar itself attempts are made to induce, under various pretences, boys especially to go on board the suspicious craft. It is still necessary to have a gunboat in the harbour, for a ready market for slaves is found at Muscat and other places. Great credit is due to the Askaris who are continually on the look out for these traffickers in human flesh and blood.

One way in which slavery is carried on was pointed out to us by Mr. Binns of the C.M.S. at Frere Town, who has been on the station over 26 years, and knows what he is talking about. As is well known, the people depend for their food on the rains, and if the former and latter rains do not fall in their due seasons they are brought face to face with famine. At such times the starving people rush from the country places to the towns, and it is on these occasions that the Arab finds his opportunity. Taking the young people, boys especially

into their houses professedly out of kindness, they give them food, but compel them to work on their shambas, and do their bidding in every way. When the famine is over, and the relatives or friends come for them, the wily Arab refuses to part with the children unless compensation is paid. This he well knows cannot be done, and thus he holds the poor creatures in his service. I shall be told by some perhaps that these are not slaves, that they cannot be sold, and that at any time they can return to their homes on compensation being paid for them. But what are the facts of the case? The Arab who has got hold of these destitute children, can keep them and make them work without receiving anything except the little food they require from day to day, or he can send them out to work for other people, himself receiving the reward of their labour. But what is far worse than this is an abominable possibility that ought not to exist in any British Protectorate. This Arab brute, according to his law and custom, can take one of these girls and call her his wife or concubine, use her in this relationship so long as it suits him, and then cast her aside to take others. Old men of sixty have been known to take girls of twelve or fourteen years in this way. One old man, whom we heard of, has a wife in Zanzibar whom he beats most unmercifully. She is now only 18 years of age, and this man is her third husband. These wretched girls are kept according to Arab custom in the house all day, and scarcely allowed to see or speak to any one from the outside. An Arab can divorce his wife easily, but a wife cannot divorce her husband whatever he may do. During the late famine Mr. Binns informed us that over one thousand young people were fed and protected on their mission at Frere Town, and all the other missionaries did what they could to meet the emergency. One of our own men whose body now lies in the grave at Ribé used to spend all his money on food, and even go short himself in order to feed the poor people. Could not, as Mr. Binns said, the Government at such times make a small grant, and thus take it out of the power of these Arab scoundrels to take advantage of the necessities of the people? It is all very well to pride ourselves that a church now stands where the old slave market formerly stood, but as long as what I have described is possible it is a disgrace to us, and we must not rest until the whole thing has been swept away.

There are many other things I wished to say, but this article has, I fear, already exceeded the limits of your space. Permit me to add in conclusion, that I am deeply grateful to Almighty God for the great improvement which has already taken place on this Dark Continent. As we rode on our donkeys through miles of grass growing above the height of our heads, with the track so narrow that it was difficult to see, I could not but reflect on the sad sights which often met the eyes of Livingstone when travelling along these lonely paths. How he would repeatedly meet companies of human beings, chained by the neck and driven like so many cattle to market. That is a thing of the past, but slavery under our rule must be destroyed root and branch. The cry, especially of woman, still goes up to heaven, and she must be protected.

We ought to send the best of our men to Africa, missionaries, officials, and merchants. Failures and ne'er-do-weels should be kept away. These representatives of our beloved country cannot afford to quarrel with each other. They should be strong, high-toned, moral men, giving each other credit for purity of motive, and when representations have to be made which reflect on the character or conduct of another, let it be seen that it is with pain such reflections are made, and that the facts of the case justify the course taken.

We have now great responsibilities in Africa, north, south, east and west. In the scramble which has been going on during the last fifteen or twenty years amongst the nations of Europe for the partition of Africa we have not come out badly. The area of the continent is eleven and a half millions of square miles, and of this we have whole or partial control of over four millions. This of course includes Egypt, where I think it is likely we have gone to stay. How are we going to govern the millions of people who inhabit these vast regions? That is the important question which presents itself to every thoughtful mind. There are differences of opinion as to how we have become possessed of these vast regions, and God has, and is, chastening us by the loss of our sons, and our increased financial burdens, but now that we have them shall we be equal to our increased responsibilities? I hope and trust that we shall, but this will only be done by the enactment of wise and just laws, and sending the worthiest of our men to administer them to the dark people now included in our world-wide Empire.

We tender our sincere thanks for the uniform kindness extended to us by the officials of the Government wherever we met them. To Sir Charles Eliot especially, on whom we had to call on a matter of business. He treated us most kindly, placing the Government despatch boat *Juba* largely at our disposal, so that we could visit the Island of Pemba and other places. To mention other names would be invidious, for, without exception, the greatest courtesy and kindness were extended to us.

The Uganda Railway.

A Reuter's telegram, published just after the last issue of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* had gone to press, announced that the laying of the rails of the new line had been completed on December 19th last, the rail-head having then reached the shore of Lake Victoria. Thus a great work, which has occupied rather less than $5\frac{1}{2}$ years, has been practically accomplished, though the full completion of the railway is not expected for some nine or ten months longer.

The extreme value of this railway for the civilization of East and Central Africa has often been set forth in these pages, and has recently been insisted on by such authorities as Sir Harry Johnston and Sir Charles Eliot. That the work

has been done rapidly, judiciously, and economically, in the face of exceptional difficulties, is stated in a recent letter addressed from Mombasa to *The Times* by Sir George Goldie, who feels confident that although many years may elapse before the railway pays dividends, it will ultimately prove a sound commercial speculation. To hasten this end Sir George Goldie advises a moderate expenditure in assisting to develop the East Africa Protectorate, especially in the direction of irrigation and population.

In a paper read at the Society of Arts on January 28th, on the survey and construction of the railway, Commander Whitehouse, R.N., who took part in the survey of the Victoria Nyanza, stated that no railway had ever been built under such extraordinary conditions, or had caused such radical changes in the country through which it passed. Sir H. M. Stanley, who presided at the meeting referred to, spoke of the suppression of the slave-trade as being the first of the two main objects for which the British nation had voted the money for constructing the line. The objects have, he said, now been accomplished, for a slave-trader could not now be found in these regions, while it takes, by the railway, only $2\frac{1}{2}$ days to reach Uganda from the sea, whereas the journey previously occupied several months.

In the Foreign Office Instructions to Colonel J. H. Sadler, on his appointment as H.M. Commissioner to the Uganda Protectorate, which have lately been published as a White Paper*, the following statement on this subject is made:—

“When Her Majesty’s Government sent their first Commissioner to Uganda at the beginning of 1893, Sir G. Portal took seventy-five days to reach the capital from Mombasa. Nor had the facilities of travel materially improved when, in 1894, Mr. Gladstone’s Administration undertook the government of the country. It was, however, about this time that the building of a railway to Lake Victoria was decided on, and the line first laid at Mombasa in 1896 has now reached its terminus, 582 miles from the coast. The journey which required several months can now be completed in forty-eight hours; human portage on the direct route is a thing of the past; the railway has revolutionised the cost of carriage. One of three steamers is already on the Lake, another is on its way to Mombasa, and the third is approaching completion. By carrying out this work, His Majesty’s Government have fulfilled an important obligation imposed upon them by the International Conference which sat in Brussels in 1889 and 1890 for the suppression of the African Slave Trade and the amelioration of the condition of the natives.”

We note in the same White Paper an important reference to “the recent decision to make an alteration in the eastern boundaries of the Uganda Protectorate, and to place under the Commissioner for East Africa the territories east of Lake Victoria which have been hitherto known as the eastern province

*Africa No. 2 (1902).

of Uganda." All the country traversed by the railway and the tribes connected with the Masai and Wakavirondo are to be transferred to East Africa, the change to take place on April 1st, 1902. A new Order in Council, closely assimilated with that in force in East Africa, is to replace the Order under which the Uganda Protectorate is now administered, so that "it will be easy to amalgamate the two Protectorates, and place them both under one local direction at any time that it may be thought desirable to do so."

Slavery in German East Africa.

The official *Reichsanzeiger*, of December 6th, published a Decree designed to pave the way for the abolition of slavery in German East Africa.

The Decree renders it impossible in future for a native to sell himself or for his relatives to sell him as a slave, or for any fresh slaves to be made on the basis of debts or other obligations, or as a punishment for adultery.

It enables all slaves to terminate their slavery by payment of a sum of money to be fixed in each individual case by the executive authorities. When this payment has been made the liberated slave will receive a certificate of freedom.

All slaves are to be allowed two free days in the week in which to work for themselves, or to receive equivalent compensation.

The duties of masters towards slaves, and especially their obligation to care for them in sickness and old age, are carefully defined, and the authorities are empowered in cases of breach of these duties to convert the slaves into free men.

The transference of the ownership of slaves is only permissible with the consent of the slaves and of the authorities. Before according such consent the authorities shall, besides deciding other points which may appear important, carefully test the legality of the ownership and shall take heed that members of the same family be not separated from one another without their consent.

The journal of the German Society which interests itself in the social and moral condition of the natives of the Protectorates, criticizes this Decree as being a very poor and half-hearted measure, going but a very little way in the direction of putting an end to slavery; it can only be regarded as a preliminary step forward. It does not fulfil the most important demand, that all slave-children born after a certain date should be declared to be free; the present Decree indeed does not make a serious attack upon the institution of slavery at all.

If the natives are to be raised to a higher moral level, freedom—the right to dispose of their own persons—must of necessity be given them. How quickly this change from the status of slavery to that of freedom can and ought to take place is a question which must be considered not only from the philanthropic point of view, but from that of the present economic and political conditions. In this Decree, however, only the political considerations seem to be taken into account.

The 1st section is limited by the 5th, which makes the transfer of rights of ownership possible with the slave's consent. Here is a back-door left for the slave-owner, of which he will not fail to avail himself. How can the authorities know whether the slave's consent has been freely and fully given, or not?

The 2nd section marks no real advance, for slaves could redeem themselves before.

In the 3rd, 4th and 5th sections slavery is recognized as a lawful institution, but perhaps it is better to call things by their true names rather than to disguise them.

This Decree is the first piece of legislation on the subject of slavery since 1895, and it will not change the existing conditions. The question therefore forces itself upon us—why is it that the Government will not hasten the abolition of slavery? The reasons are not economical, for the labour required by slave-owners is done as well by free labourers as by slaves, and the economic interests demand abolition as imperatively as do those of morality. The reasons are in fact political. The Government is of opinion that it is too early, ten years after the great Arab rising, to risk exciting the former lords of the country by touching them in their most sensitive point. Slavery and the institution of the harem are so closely bound up with the Moslem religion, that the Mahommedan would regard their removal as an attack upon his rights and customs consecrated by long usage.

But, granted that caution is necessary in taking up these questions, in the present Decree caution is carried too far.

Morocco.

In regard to the importation of slaves into Morocco, and the influence of Great Britain and France in checking the trade from the countries south of the Sahara, to which we referred in our last issue, we have received a letter from Sir A. Nicolson, the British Minister at Tangier, who makes the following statement, "for the information of the Society":—

"It has been recently reported to me that the Tafilelt slave dealers who journeyed to Tuat for the purpose of purchasing slaves have returned from the latter place, having been unable to effect any transactions now that the Tuat oases have come under French jurisdiction."

The concluding article of four which have recently appeared in the *Daily Chronicle* on "Morocco in Decay" gives a striking picture of the hopeless misgovernment of the country. One result very noticeable by travellers is that the country appears strangely unpeopled and desolate, the villages being hidden away at some distance from the highways on account of the "merciless exactions" which are made by Government for travelling officials, and for foreigners who are in any sense the guests of the Government. The rapacity of the Government officials is "argus-eyed," and the people are pitilessly squeezed not only for the journeys of the Sultan (whose travelling retinue numbers from 25,000 to 30,000 persons), and the high officials, but even for the petty *employés* of the central and local governments.

The Administration is iniquitous :—

"It is, above all, in the infamies of its administration from the Court downwards, that the causes of the decay of Morocco are found. This dread of the Government pervades all the governed classes, paralyzing industry, producing a chronic state of insurrection in much of the Empire, destroying patriotism, rendering the downfall of Morocco as an independent State an event within the range of practical politics, compelling the natives in large numbers to seek and obtain "protection" from Spain, Brazil, France, and America, and inclining them to prefer almost any change to a continuance of the *status quo*."

"Practically there is no government existing over a great part of Morocco. Many of the roads are absolutely 'closed,' or are only open on payment of a heavy 'blackmail' to the powerful tribes through which they pass—and the Sultan cannot collect taxes, appoint officials, secure the safety of goods and travellers, punish crime, or even pass himself, though with 30,000 men, from Morocco City to Fez by a direct route. Life is of little account. Every man carries a gun and a dagger, disturbances are always occurring, and the fact that a few men have been killed and wounded excites no surprise, even when a loss of life occurs as last July at Tangier itself, or within a gunshot of the Palace of the Grand Shereef at Wazan. Tribes with long-standing blood-feuds meet at big markets, and a slight quarrel involves what not infrequently is a small battle. Nobody cares, and even the Sultan's soldiers leave the combatants to fight it out. The universal possession of arms, and the nearly universal tribal and clan feuds, beget a tendency towards chronic disorder and an industrial decay which affect nearly the whole country, and the general unrest has increased of late."

The writer describes in some detail the corrupt and unscrupulous means by which the Court obtains money. It is irresponsible as well as rapacious ; offices are sold to the highest bidder, who may be dispossessed and imprisoned at any moment, in order to confiscate his property. Taxation is enormous, for officials enrich themselves by means of it. The Kaids can at will imprison any one, simply for purposes of robbery, and "no man who is supposed to have money or goods (unless he is under foreign protection) escapes their attentions."

"The result of official rapacity and an infamous administration under which there is no security for the earnings of industry or for personal liberty, is the absolute stagnation of all enterprise in a country of great natural capacities, and the abandonment of former industries. . . . Nothing can remedy the condition of Morocco but the destruction of the present accursed system of maladministration root and branch."

For these reasons, the writer of the article has little hope of reform from the good intentions of the Sultan :—

"It is supposed that the young Sultan is in earnest in desiring reforms, and certainly Kaïd Maclean is ; but the men to carry them out do not exist in the Empire, and the whole official class, the only influential class in the country, has 'vested interests' in sustaining, as they are, the present infamies of administration. If fraudulent commissaries or Kaïds were universally degraded or shot, the Sultan would be left without an administration !"

To much the same effect is the remark of a private correspondent writing in January from one of the Morocco towns on this subject. He says that he has read about prison reforms in the papers, and has talked with various people, but he can gain no information about them, and all agree in thinking that with the present officials it will be impossible to carry them out.

SOUDAN SLAVE-DEALERS.

It is stated in the Press that reconstruction in the Soudan has at last reached such a degree of completeness that the Government feels strong enough to deal a last crushing blow at the slave dealers. A general order has been issued empowering every military officer and official throughout the Soudan to arrest slave-dealers wherever found, using any degree of force which may be necessary for the purpose. All dealers arrested will be specially dealt with by the Administration.

A SLAVE-SHIP SIXTY YEARS AGO.

The following account of the capture of a slave-ship about 1843 is given in Mrs. Charles Bagot's book of reminiscences entitled *Links with the Past*. On one of her cruises the "Winchester" fell in with a slaver:—

"The officer of the watch said to my father, 'A sail in sight, sir, with very raking masts, a slaver probably.' 'Make all sail,' said the Admiral, 'and give chase.' The boats were ordered out, armed. They took her, and next morning the captain was ordered on board the 'Winchester.' He was a very fine young Spaniard, in a beautiful uniform with filigree buttons. He and my father spoke Spanish. He said the captain was not on board, he was only the supercargo; but they always said that. We went on board the slaver. The captain's cabin was very smart. His guitar with blue ribbons lay on his couch with nice books and every luxury. The slave deck was an *awful* sight. How human beings could be packed into it was marvellous and horrible. They were doubled up, their knees meeting their chins. Twice a day the poor wretches were ordered up on deck that they might not die, and if they could not walk or stand upright they were flogged until they did. This slaver was condemned. Condemned slavers were sent to Sierra Leone, St. Helena and the Cape. The slaves were liberated. If apprenticed to Boers they were often more cruelly treated, and regretted the days of slavery and good masters."

Resignations.

We regret to announce the resignation by Mr. Charles H. Allen of the post of Honorary Secretary, and by Mr. Joseph Allen of the Treasurership of the Anti-Slavery Society. Mr. Charles Allen has held the position of Honorary Secretary since he resigned, in October, 1898, the office of Secretary, which he had filled for over nineteen years previous to that date. Mr. Joseph Allen was appointed Treasurer in December, 1879.

Title and Index.

Readers of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* who may wish to bind their numbers for 1901 can obtain copies of the Title-page and Index for the volume on application to the Secretary of the Society at the office, 55, New Broad Street.

1902.

The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

PATRON:

HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

President:

1883 SIR THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, Bart., G.C.M.G.

Vice-President:

1886 ALFRED E. PEASE, Esq., M.P.

Treasurer:

Committee:

1898 W. A. ALBRIGHT, Esq.
1876 J. G. ALEXANDER, Esq., LL.B.
1901 B. R. BALFOUR, Esq.
1888 J. BEVAN BRAITHWAITE, Esq.
1894 E. WRIGHT BROOKS, Esq.
1893 CEPHAS BUTLER, Esq.
1889 SYDNEY C. BUXTON, Esq., M.P.
1893 JOEL CADBURY, Esq.
1893 FREDERICK G. CASH, Esq.
1884 R. N. CUST, Esq., LL.D.
1883 R. W. FELKIN, Esq., M.D.
1885 MAJOR-GENERAL SIR F. J. GOLDSMID,
K.C.S.I.
1886 HENRY GURNEY, Esq.
1887 DANIEL HACK, Esq.

1882 CALEB R. KEMP, Esq.
1895 CAPTAIN H. NEEDHAM KNOX, R.N.
1893 JOHN H. LLOYD, Esq.
1895 DONALD MACKENZIE, Esq.
1894 W. CAREY MORGAN, Esq.
1893 JOHN MORLAND, Esq.
1901 WM. C. PARKINSON, Esq., L.C.C.
1893 JOSEPH A. PEASE, Esq., M.P.
1882 ARNOLD PYE-SMITH, Esq.
1885 FRANCIS RECKITT, Esq.
1898 SIR JOHN SCOTT, K.C.M.G.
1894 RICHARD N. SHORE, Esq.
1901 H. W. W. WILBERFORCE, Esq., L.C.C.
1885 W. H. WYLDE, Esq., C.M.G. (late of the
Foreign Office *Slave-Trade Department*.)

Corresponding Members:

RIGHT REV. BISHOP TUCKER, Uganda.
G. T. ABRINES, Esq., Tangier, Morocco.
FRANK ALLEN, Esq., Alexandria.
T. H. BARKER, Esq., Liverpool.
THEODORE BURTT, Esq., Pemba.
HON. AND REV. H. CLARK, Jamaica.
PROFESSOR E. DESCAMPS, Louvain.
WILLIAM HARVEY, Esq., Leeds.
CAPTAIN E. C. HORE, South Seas.
REV. W. G. HOWE, Ribé, East Africa.
G. P. HUNOT, Esq., British Vice-Consul, Saffee.
SIR H. H. JOHNSTON, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.
MONS. HIPPOLYTE LAROCHE, Paris, Ancien
Résident Général de France, Madagascar.
M. LE PROFESSEUR G. BONET MAURY, Paris.
NOEL TEMPLE MOORE, Esq., C.M.G., late
H.B.M. Consul-General, Tripoli.
A. J. MORASSO, Esq., Tangier.

G. MOYNIER, Esq., Geneva.
SENHOR JOAQUIM NABUCO, Brazil.
PROF. EDOUARD NAVILLE, Geneva.
REV. PÈRE OHRWALDER, Cairo.
M. JOH. PATER, Teheran.
DR. PRUEN, Cheltenham.
COMTE DE ST. GEORGE, Geneva.
COLONEL SCHAEFER BEY, late Director of
Egyptian Slavery Department.
DR. G. SCHWEINFURTH, Cairo.
REV. W. G. SHELLABEAR, Singapore.
SLATIN PASHA, Cairo.
M. LE COMTE D'URSEL, Brussels.
M. COURTOIS DE VICOSE, Toulouse.
COLONEL SIR F. R. WINGATE, K.C.M.G., C.B.,
Governor-General of the Soudan.
A. B. WYLDE, Esq.

Secretary:

1898 TRAVERS BUXTON, M.A.

Bankers: Messrs. BARCLAY & Co., 54, Lombard Street.